BIRTH CONTROL NUMBER

MOTHER EARTH

Vol. XI. April, 1916 No. 2

CONTENTS

	Page
The Mothers of the Race	449
Moses Harman	
An Urgent Appeal to My Friends	450
E. G.	
The Historical Side of the Birth Control Movement	451
Leonard D. Abbott	
Carnegie Hall Speech of Dr. Wm. J. Robinson	457
Carnegie Hall Speech of Dr. A. L. Goldwater	460
Carnegie Hall Speech of Theodore Schroeder	463
Date of Miss Goldman's Trial	467
The Social Aspects of Birth Control	468
Emma Goldman	
Birth Control	
A Mother of Seven Children	475
The Crowbar vs. Words	479
Reb. Raney	
A Human Document	480
G.	
The Carnegie Hall Meeting	483
Harold Titus	
One More Plea For David Caplan	487
Emma Goldman	
America and Mexico	488
W. C. Owen	
The Arrest of the Magon Brothers	491
E. Pinchon	
A Letter from Margaret Sanger	492
Books on Socialism M. B.	494

EMMA GOLDMAN, - - Publisher and Editor

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Emma Goldman's Lecture Dates

In New York City at
The Harlem Masonic Temple, 310 Lenox Avenue

SUBJECTS:

Sunday, April 2nd, 8 P. M.
THE FRENCH DRAMA
HENRY BECQUE'S, "The Vultures."
PAUL HERVIEU'S, "Modesty."
And other plays.

Sunday, April 9th, 8 P. M.
THE ENGLISH DRAMA
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW'S, "Fanny's First Play" and "Androcles and the Lion."
ST. JOHN HANKIN'S, "The Last of the DeMullins."
GRANVILLE BARKER'S, "Waste."
JOHN GALSWORTHY'S, "The Mob."

Sunday, April 16th, 8 P. M.
THE IRISH DRAMA
SEUMAS O'KELLEY'S, "The Bribe."
RUTHERFORD MAYNE'S, "The Red Turf" and other plays.
LENOX ROBINSON'S, "The Patriots."
J. M. SYNGE'S, "The Tinker's Wedding."

Sunday, April 23rd, 8 P. M.
THE JEWISH DRAMA
JACOB GORDON'S, "The Slaughter."
SHOLEM ASCH'S, "The God of Vengeance."
DAVID PINSKY'S, "The Family Zwee."
And other plays.

Sunday, April 30th, 8 P. M.
THE RUSSIAN DRAMA
LEO TOLSTOI'S, "The Man Who Was Dead."
ANTON TCHEKHOV'S, "The Three Sisters,"
LEONID ANDREYEV'S, "Savva."
And other plays.

During the month of April, Miss Goldman expects to do most of her talking to the judges at the Special Sessions and to the District Attorney. If the trial does not take long and if Emma Goldman does not have to go to Blackwell's Island Penitentiary, she will be able to take a few dates in the New England States during the last two weeks in April. Our work in the East will close May 1st and about May 15th we expect to go to New Orleans for one week, then several Texas towns and open up in Los Angeles at Burbank Hall, June 4th. Of course everything depends upon the outcome of the trial.

The Limitation of Offspring by the Prevention of Conception

By William J. Robinson, M.D.

With an Introduction by A. Jacobi, M.D., LL.D., Ex-President of The American Medical Association.

All the arguments for and against the voluntary limitation of offspring or birth control concentrated in one book of 250 pages.

Written in plain popular language. A book which everybody interested in his own welfare and the welfare of the race should read. **Price One Dollar.**

FOR SALE BY MOTHER EARTH

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Published Every 15th of the Month

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THE MOTHERS OF THE RACE

"THE mothers of the race are lifting their dumb eyes to me, their sealed lips to me, their agonizing hearts to me. They are seeking, seeking for a voice! The unborn in their helplessness are pleading from their prisons, pleading for a voice! The criminals, with the unseen ban upon their souls, that has pushed them, pushed them to the vortex, out of their whirling hells, are looking, waiting for a voice! I will be their voice. I will unmask the outrages of the marriage-bed. I will make known how criminals are born. I will make one outcry that shall be heard, and let what will be, be!"

MOSES HARMAN.

AN URGENT APPEAL TO MY FRIENDS

By E. G.

IN HER contribution on the subject of Birth Control my friend Rebekha Raney takes issue with me on the efficacy of MOTHER EARTH appearing as a special Birth Control number. Since Rebekha and I believe in free speech I take the liberty to tell her that her objections are based on considerable naiveté regarding radicals and their beliefs.

Not only is there a number of M. E. readers who do not believe in Birth Control, but a great many radicals everywhere have excommunicated me from their lives because I discuss the subect and devote space in MOTHER EARTH to it.

In justice to my critics I wish to say that their objections are due largely to the fact that they look upon Birth Control only as a very small phase in a much larger social setting; namely the freedom of expression in life, labor and art which is constantly being interfered with and curtailed by the reactionary forces.

Yet I hold Birth Control to be a tremendously important phase, first because it is tabooed and the people who advocate it are persecuted. Secondly it represents the immediate question of life and death to masses of people. That is the principle reason for the present issue of MOTHER EARTH. There is another one, my own arrest. I have no other medium of communication with the public at large except through our magazine. If our readers doubt this, the conspiracy of silence which has so far been observed by the conservative and even the so-called radical press should convince them of this fact.

Since my preliminary hearing, February 28th, hardly an illusion to my case has appeared in any of the papers. A few protest meetings have taken place, one in Seattle, Washington, on February 27th, one in San Francisco, on March 10th, and our own in Carnegie Hall on March 1st. For the rest there has been a dead silence.

That is exactly what the authorities want. But if they build upon that as a safe basis to railroad me they will find themselves woefully mistaken, as I am quite determined to give them considerable trouble. The first step is this issue of MOTHER EARTH which treats the Birth Control question from every angle; historic, scientific, so-

cial, economic and above all from the point of view of Woman, which of them all is the most decisive.

Friends, do you want to help through the medium of publicity? If so, send for bundles of MOTHER EARTH, spread the magazine in meetings, among your friends, everywhere that will arouse interest in my case.

Now for the larger work. Before I go before Special Sessions I want to make an adequate and strong defense which is subsequently to be published and circulated in an edition of 100,000 copies. Between now and the trial we must carry on a propaganda campaign through letters and circulars. Lastly and in a measure the most important, if the outcome of my trial is against me MOTHER EARTH will remain without the main source of subsistence. I must repeat once more that our magazine though much better placed than heretofore is not self supporting and would discontinue if I should stop lecturing. But I cannot permit that, not after ten terrible years of struggle. MOTHER EARTH MUST BE SECURED.

Friends, I ask not for myself but for the one thing dearest in all the world to me, my work, our work the larger and more important aspect of which Birth Control is indeed a small phase—Anarchism, the complete economic and social emancipation of man. For this I ask your support.

Send your contributions at once to The Emma Goldman Defense Committee, 20 East 125th St., N. Y. City. Write letters, arrange protest meetings, pass strong resolutions, have them signed and sent to the District Attorney, Edward Swann.

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THE HISTORICAL SIDE OF THE BIRTH CONTROL MOVEMENT

BY LEONARD D. ABBOTT

THE recent arrest of Emma Goldman for the "crime" of giving information in her lectures on the subject of birth control suggests a backward, as well as a forward, look. Behind it, as behind every significant event, stretches a long historical vista. America is repeating the experience of other countries in this matter of birth control. Here, as in Europe, the course of events has followed the same general lines. First come the writers and teachers who insist on the importance of

birth control information, and who attack the laws that penalize its dissemination. They meet the opposition of reactionaries who by every artifice and argument seek to drive the new doctrines underground. Gradually, the mass of the people become aroused, learn that the wealthier class have access to knowledge that is denied to them, and begin to demand the knowledge until bold, self-sacrificing spirits of the type of Bradlaugh and Besant in England, Dr. Luigi Berta and his associates in Italy, Luis Bulffi in Spain, Mr. and Mrs. Sanger and now Emma Goldman in the United States, brave the law and give the information. An arrest and a trial follow, which rally to the support of the accused an immense body of public opinion. At this stage of the struggle the pioneers have already won the day. If they are imprisoned, the injustice inflicted becomes apparent to even the dullest. The martyrdom of the few opens the eyes of the many. If they are acquitted, their cause needs no further advocacy—it has triumphed.

The pioneers of the birth control movement have been English. The first leaflet describing the technique of contraception was printed in 1823 and was attributed to Robert Owen, the philanthropist-reformer of New Lanark. Long before that time, the English clergyman Malthus, had published his famous "Essay on Population," in which he propounded the theory that population tends to increase beyond the means of subsistence, and advocated the control of procreation. But he had taken the view that "a restraint from marriage, from prudential motives" was the right method to pursue, and he never lent his support to literature of the type of the leaflet of 1823. This proved a great moral shock to the people of the time. It was called "the diabolical handbill;" a small leaflet, unobtrusively and almost elegantly printed, addressed "To the Married of Both Sexes," setting forth the economic burden of an excessively large family, and describing with frank simplicity means of preventing conception.

James Mill was another pioneer in advocating Neo-Malthusian methods. He referred to the matter cautiously in the eminently respectable "Encyclopaedia Britannica." His son, John Stuart Mill, one of the greatest libertarian thinkers of all time, barely escaped arrest,

as a young man, for distributing a contraceptive pamphlet entitled, "What is Love." Francis Place, a friend of the elder Mill and a giant figure in the early stages of the English labor movement, expressed himself, quite clearly, as in favor of "such precautionary means as would, without being injurious to health or destructive of female delicacy, prevent conception." And Robert Dale Owen, the son of Robert Owen, published a book on "Moral Physiology" in which he dealt specifically with methods of family limitation.

These early Neo-Malthusian propagandists met with obloquy and abuse. It was not until much later that their cause was vindicated. In 1876 Charles Bradlaugh, militant free-thinker, and Annie Besant, at that time also a secularist, challenged the British Government by announcing that at a certain time and place they would put on sale copies of Dr. Knowlton's pamphlet "Fruits of Philosophy," in which definite contraceptive information was given. They were arrested; and the ensuing trial was historic. In spite of Bradlaugh's brilliant defense of the pamphlet and of his action in offering it for sale, he was defeated at the trial and he and Mrs. Besant were sentenced to serve six months in prison and to each pay a fine of two hundred pounds. They appealed the case, and were released on a technicality.

The verdict in the Bradlaugh-Besant case can only be considered a victory in the sense that it helped to change public opinion, and led to a new interpretation of the law under which they had been convicted. In 1877, Dr. C. R. Drysdale founded the Malthusian League and started a periodical, *The Malthusian*. From the first, one of the main objects of both the league and the periodical was to furnish practical advice on the subject of family limitation. Dr. Drysdale and his associates were permitted to distribute contraceptive information to applicants who testified that they were married or about to be married, and that they considered the artificial limitation of the family justifiable on both individual and national grounds. Each issue of *The Malthusian* still carries the printed application-form. Anyone who desires information on these terms can get it—any one except an American. The Malthusian League "regrets that it is unable to

comply with applications for this leaflet from the United States."

Many efforts have been made to remove this stigma from America, but as yet they have not been successful. About fifty years ago, Dr. E. B. Foote, Senior, editor and publisher of "Foote's Home Cyclopedia," issued instructions to his patients in a tiny pamphlet printed from type of the size known as "pearl," from which the document took its name, "Words of Pearl." He was indicted and sentenced to pay a fine of five thousand dollars, thus becoming one of Anthony Comstock's earliest victims. The Comstock law was passed in 1873, and puts in the same category lewdness, prevention of conception, and abortion. Dr. E. B. Foote, Junior, the founder of the Free Speech League and one of America's finest characters, was a zealous supporter of the theory of birth control, and one of his last utterances was an open letter to a charitable organization on this subject. Many American doctors have been imprisoned for imparting information on family limitation, and a few have had the courage to fight openly against the Comstock law. Notable among the latter is the veteran Dr. Abraham Jacobi, ex-President of the American Medical Association and of the New York Academy of Medicine. At the present time, Dr. William J. Robinson stands out as a persistent and aggressive opponent of our medieval laws on the subject of birth control. His book, "The Limitation of Offspring," is an arsenal of arguments.

Apart from the medical profession, social idealists and freethinkers have fought for the right to discuss this and every other aspect of the sex-question. In this connection the name of Moses Harman immediately occurs. The brave old editor of *Lucifer* was ever on the firing line in matters of sex-discussion; he never flinched, and he took his prison incarcerations like a hero. His associate Edwin C. Walker, the founder of the Sunrise Club, was another man who pioneered sex rationalism. Ezra Heywood, of *The Word,* and successive editors of *The Truth Seeker* should not be forgotten.

These and similar pioneers have helped to make history. When the laws they fought have been repealed, their names will be honored by all. It is one of the ironies

of fate that America, the so-called land of liberty, is behind almost all the other countries in the matter of birth control legislation. Even so backward a country as Spain has decided, in its law-courts, that contraceptive information is not obscene. In Australia and New Zealand and in Russia such information is absolutely untrammeled. In Holland birth control clinics are officially sanctioned. In France there is a strong Malthusian movement.

Although the stringent laws of America have prevented the open dissemination of birth control methods there has been a sub-current of birth control pamphlets that have been flowing all over America ever since the days of the John Stuart Mill pamphlet in England. Recently a speaker in Chicago showed a collection of some thirty different pamphlets, all giving methods that have been distributed in America during the last seventy-five years.

Within the last three years the original Margaret Sanger pamphlet had a circulation of one hundred thousand. Pamphlets that she wrote on English and Dutch methods and that were published in England have had a large circulation. It is impossible to estimate how many times the Margaret Sanger pamphlet has been reprinted. Three New York reprints were ten thousand each; a Detroit reprint was five thousand; a California reprint was seven thousand. There was also a Kansas reprint of several thousand.

The pamphlet gotten out by the Neo-Malthusian League in England has been reprinted quite a number of times in America. One in Washington had a tremendous circulation, probably over fifty thousand in the coast cities. An Oklahoma leaflet had an original circulation of sixteen thousand and has been reprinted quite a number of times. A Portland leaflet had a circulation of eight thousand. A Pittsburgh reprint had a circulation of ten thousand.

Dr. Blank has gotten out a two page typewritten circular giving elaborate methods that had a circulation of over seven thousand. A Chicago circular had a circulation of upward of ten thousand and was reprinted. Hundreds of birth control advocates have had printed and written circulars made which have been distributed broadcast. There have been thousands of doctors in America who have gladly given such information to their

patients. Hundreds of teachers, nurses and intelligent women have spread the news. In one of the large cities the Visiting Nurses Association passed out the circulars amongst poor mothers. In St. Louis and other towns pamphlets were given away at the medical clinics.

The fact of the matter is that methods on birth control were so well circulated and known in America that all earnest seekers found them. In many cities these pamphlets have been distributed openly at meetings, in shops and on the streets. Some of the birth control advocates who sold the pamphlet complained that it was impossible to sell it for more than ten cents a copy. On quite a number of street corners, birth control advocates have been heard discussing the subject and giving methods. While a certain section of the birth control league waited for the sanction of the law, the other part went ahead and gave the world the knowledge which is sought.

As compared with other countries, America still brings up the tail of the procession, but it is clear that public opinion is changing. The imprisonment of William Sanger last September was denounced as an outrage even by conservatives. The Federal Government was unwilling to press the indictment against Margaret Sanger because it realized how weak its case was. Emma Goldman's birth control meetings throughout the country have been attended by immense audiences, and the mass-meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York City, a few days ago showed how deeply the public imagination has been stirred.

The fight that Emma Goldman is making is the fight of every liberty-loving man and woman. She deserves the support of liberals of every type. The best way to get rid of a bad law is to break it. Thus great issues are dramatized and great truths are brought home to the minds of the majority. Mere theorizing about birth control accomplishes little. It is when Margaret Sanger and Emma Goldman advocate or use "direct action" that everyone takes notice. The time will come and is not far distant when it will seem incredible that human beings, in this twentieth century, could have been imprisoned for imparting information that ought to be in the possession of every adult.

THE MOST ATROCIOUS LAW—EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESSES MADE AT THE CARNEGIE HALL MEETING

ABSTRACT OF DR. WM. J. ROBINSON'S SPEECH:

FROM our earliest childhood we are taught to appreciate the importance of knowledge. Ignorance, we are told, is the source of all evil; knowledge, it is constantly drilled into our ears and brains, is power. Without knowledge, we are told, we can get nowhere. Get knowledge, get knowledge, is the cry from our first school day. And as a rule we are free to get all the knowledge we can. With one important exception. There is one kind of knowledge that we can't get, that it is a crime to try to get, that it is a crime to impart. And that piece of knowledge that we can't get, that we mustn't try to get, is of the utmost importance to every adult man and woman.

To an observer from Mars it would be incredible that just the kind of knowledge that is of vital importance to every family, that affects the economic welfare of the family, that affects the health of the mother, the health and the bringing up and the very life of the children to come, should be forbidden by law. *But* the fact is a fact and stares at us in all its gruesome ugliness.

Five years in prison and five thousand dollars fine for each offence stares you in the face if you try to tell a poor woman what to do, (the rich woman doesn't need your information) in order that she may not have any more than six or eight or fourteen children. You are punished as if you had committed a most heinous crime—theft, arson, burglary, homicide are not punished more severely.

But if this knowledge is so dangerous, so criminal, so filthy, do those who consider it such shun its use, do they avoid acquiring it, or having acquired it accidentally, do they shake it off, do they try to forget it, to blot it out from their memory? Oh no, this is the peculiar thing about this piece of knowledge. Everybody thinks it dangerous and bad for somebody else, but quite harmless and proper for himself and his wife. The legislators who have framed the law about the imparting of contraceptive knowledge, the very detective who arrests you, the

Post Office Inspector who traps you, the judge who will sentence you to prison for having given the information, every member of the jury that has convicted you, the district attorney who passionately demands a severe sentence, every one of them has this knowledge, and if he has it not, his wife has it, and if neither has it, they are both anxious to get it.

I have not yet had a reporter interview me, who did not at the conclusion of the interview, make the remark just, en passant, that of course he (or she) knew various methods of prevention, but he would like to know, not for personal use, but just for the sake of the knowledge, what I considered the most harmless and the safest means for the prevention of conception. And even gentlemen of the cloth—all honor to them—have lately been known to ask for this information. Of course it is never for their personal use, but for the sake of their poor parishioners.

More than once I have spoken to conservative audiences on the prevention of conception question. Some people would get up and vociferously and apparently sincerely condemn my pernicious propaganda. Such a propaganda was a menace to the morality of the community, a danger to the human race. But after the meeting was over, those opponents would come up and ask for the information privately. "By the way, what is in your opinion the safest and surest method?"—"If this knowledge is so dangerous and pernicious, what do you want to get it for?"—"Oh, with me it is different. I will use it in appropriate, legitimate cases only." Isn't it funny? Yes, it would be if it were not so tragic.

Because we advocate the rational control of the number of children we are accused of advocating race suicide, that is the self-destruction, self-extinction of the human race. No more damnable slander has ever been uttered.

To wish for the suicide, for the destruction of the human race means to hate the human race. We do not hate the human race; we love the human race. And it is because we love the human race, that we advocate the rational control of human offspring. It is because we love the human race, that we hate to see it suffer and degenerate. It is because we love the human race that we hate to see its mothers grown prematurely old by re-

peated pregnancies or driven into premature graves; it is because we love the human race that we do not want to see its children pushed into the streets at a tender age to sell newspapers and to learn all about vice and crime; or to have them imprisoned in shops, factories, canneries and cotton mills. It is because we love the human race that we do not wish to see young girls driven into prostitution or forced to live a life of miserable drudgery, without a ray of joy from cradle to grave.

They dare to accuse us of race suicide? Just examine the people who are opposed to our propaganda of Birth Control. You will find that, outside of the boobs who are opposed to it on account of religious grounds, our worst opponents come from the ranks of the real murderers of the human race. Those who are in favor of war in general, those cruel wretches who are responsible for the present war, who destroy in the twinkling of an eye tens of thousands of biologically the best human lives, who cause suffering, the reading about which grips your heart and freezes your blood, who murder, rape, burn, asphyxiate, who redden the snow hills with torrents of human blood, and choke the rivers with human corpses, who sow terror and destitution wherever they go, who make more widows and orphans in one day, than all the individual unorganized murderers do in a century—they are opposed to the prevention of conception propaganda, and imprison those whom they can. The cruellest and bloodiest bit of irony—the actual murderers of the human race accusing the lovers of the human race of advocating race suicide!

No, it is not we who want a happy and healthy race who advocate race suicide—they who demand unlimited breeding, they who would pollute the racial blood stream, they who would legally encourage the increase of paupers, syphilitics, epileptics, dipsomaniacs, cripples, criminals and degenerates—it is they who are guilty of real race suicide, it is they who are the murderers and polluters of the human race.

The subject of Birth Control is an immense one. There are numerous sides to it and to discuss it from every point of view would take away hours. As I have but a minutes time at my command, I must conclude. And I will conclude with this prophecy:

"There will come a time—and it is not so far off—

when the prevention of undesired pregnancy will be as proper, as respectable and as much the function of the medical practitioner as is now the prevention of typhoid fever, diphtheria or tuberculosis."

For there is no single measure that would so positively, so immediately contribute towards the happiness of the human race as teaching the people proper means of the prevention of conception.

Just as voluntary, desired motherhood is beautiful, so is undesired, forced motherhood ugly and injurious. And one cannot hope to have a happy, healthy and contented race until every adult man and woman possesses the information of how to control the number of his offspring. And all those who love liberty and look forward to a happier, saner and healthier humanity should join and help in our work.

ABSTRACT OF DR. A. L. GOLDWATER'S SPEECH

SOME twenty years ago, while taking my post-graduate course in the Lying-In Hospital, I had presented to me the first tangible evidence of the dire results of unlimited and uncontrolled child-bearing. A call came in to the hospital to send a doctor at once to some number on Monroe Street. On my way there I met another junior who was bound for the same number, both calls being for the basement. But as we had different names we knew it was not for the same patient. The basement turned out to be the cellar, above which hung the dingy sign, "J. Rubenstein, Shoe-Maker." This was the name on my colleague's card. Going down the steep steps we found ourselves in the murky, odorous shop which was sub-divided by some curtains hung on strings, into three compartments. In the middle sub-division I found my patient, a young woman of twenty about to be delivered of her second child. In the shop proper, lying on a mattress and surrounded by as many women as could crowd in, was my colleague's patient, the mother of my patient, about to give birth to her tenth child. Behind the last curtain, in what was the kitchen, dining-room, and auxiliary bed-room of the family, were the fathers and the three or four other living children, all that survived of the ten.

The two babies were born almost simultaneously. Then, having attended to the most obvious physical needs of these patients, we both went our way quite satisfied with ourselves at having done our duty. I need only in fancy follow this family for twenty years up to the present time to realize how remiss we were in our duty towards them. If my then patient's husband has not died from tuberculosis, brought on by partial starvation, leaving her a widow with five or six children, or if he has not deserted her, finding the pressure to maintain existence more than he could stand, then *she* is probably now bearing *her* eighth or tenth child, while her eldest daughter is bearing her second or third perhaps, not in a cellar, but on some top floor. And this brings me to an interesting sociological fact. Since such cellar residences are no longer tolerated by the Board of Health, the greatest squalor and the most abject poverty is now found on the top floors of these tenements. . . . . .

We all know that the average, intelligent thinking, person, not only in his private thoughts, and sentiments, but in his actual living, endorses everything that Birth Control stands for. But just as it took a Charles Bradlaugh and an Annie Besant, in England, over thirty years ago, at the risk of a term in prison, to crystalize this private sentiment into public expression and enactment, so it has required a Margaret Sanger and an Emma Goldman now, to defy the law in order to crystalize public opinion in this country.

I never knew why the term "Criminal Law" was coined, until I saw how aptly it described the law which prohibits the dissemination of knowledge upon the subject of Birth Control. If ever a law was stupid, farcical, and thoroughly criminal, it is this law. Look at the hollow mockery of its application. A woman with one or two sickly children finds that her husband has tuberculosis or cancer and will at best live but a few years. This means that she must shoulder the wage-earning responsibility for the family. Nevertheless, the husband is living; and living with her. According to the law, to instruct her so that she may save herself from further child-bearing, is illegal. And even though in her previous pregnancies she suffered from severe kidney trouble, still legally, I could give her no advice con-

cerning contraception. But *after* conception, when I find that her heart and kidneys are again involved, *then* at the further risk of her life, the pregnancy may be legally interrupted. *The ounce of prevention is illegal. Many heavy pounds of cure is the only alternative.*

The attitude taken by many of our opponents, suggests to my mind a story which perhaps some of you have heard. A young and pretty settlement worker, fresh from college, and detailed to the poorest quarter of the city, was attempting to instruct a no-longer-young mother in some of the details of child hygiene. The mother listened scornfully, and finally losing patience, said, "How many children have *you* had." The worker meekly admitted she had none. Whereupon the mother retorted, "And *you* trying to advise *me,* when I've *buried* ten." It seems to me that some of our opponents would rather bury ten, than bring up one.

In the achievements of preventive medicine accomplished by a tremendous expediture of time, money, and effort, and with the aid of such large endowments as the Rockefeller Institute and the Sage Foundation, we have much of which to be proud. But *here* is a form of preventive medicine that requires no great expenditure of effort. And the benefits to humanity from its application will outweigh anything accomplished by preventive medicine up to the present time. Bulstrode says: "The object of preventive medicine is to curtail, and if possible to prevent disease; to prolong existence; and to render life happier by means of improving physical conditions." What means have so-called preventive medicines yet offered, to accomplish all these purposes, that can *compare* with intelligent birth control?

Who then opposes this? There are two groups. The first are the mealy-mouthed hypocrites who while preaching the biblical doctrine to the poor of 'Go forth and multiply or at any rate, add unto yourselves," practice privately the doctrine of subtraction and division. In this group also belong the captains of industry and exploiters of labor generally, who want new and fresh material for their shops, factories ,and mines. And if some of you think this is a far-fetched statement, I will say that it has come to my knowledge within the last few days that a western manufacturing concern, owning a large plant,

sent to New York for an efficiency and hygiene expert who was definitely instructed, NOT to limit his inquiries and recommendations to improvements in the plant itself, but to go into the homes of the workers, and to make such recommendations, as would encourage them to have larger families, in order that labor in years to come might be plentiful and cheap.

Then, finally, there is a small group of honest and somewhat intelligent people, who have not kept up with the times, and who do not know that conditions to-day are not what they were in their grandmother's, or even in their mother's time. That while it is possible for the exceptional woman with luxurious, or at least comfortable surroundings, to properly bring up with justice to herself and to the children, a family of five or six, or possibly even more, for 90 per cent. of our population, downtrodden wage-slaves, living from hand to mouth, with hardly a week's wages between themselves and dispossession, to raise such a family is absolutely impossible. Remember, no one deires to curtail your right to have five or *ten* children, if you wish them. But we do insist on the individual's right *not* to have an unlimited number of children.

ABSTRACT OF THEODORE SCHROEDER'S SPEECH

TO me has been assigned the task of indicating what you can do to promote free speech for birth control information. Necessarily, there are many avenues of approach to this problem. According to your temperament or past training you will choose between the various groups who are seeking to enlarge birth control liberty. I will indicate what the various groups stand for so that you may determine your affiliation more intelligently. The first that I will mention is the Anarchist group under the leadership of Miss Goldman, the latest victim of these puritan laws. Since she will speak for herself, I need only suggest that the Anarchists, repudiating all artificial government, can only appeal to the intellect, and if worshipping consistency they can have little

concern with legislative modifications of the law, though believing in absolute free speech.

The next group to be mentioned is The Free Speech League (56 East 59th St.), which concerns itself with the problem of getting absolute freedom of speech upon all subjects, including birth control. It recognizes government as an institution to be dealt with, not to be ignored. Therefore it limits its activities to legal methods for securing changes in the laws, either by the process of judicial construction, or by legislative enactment and repeal. It also promotes their judicial annulment as unconstitutional. From the standpoint of the Free Speech League, the Birth Control propaganda is but one activity among many. It has circulated literature which would tend to make people desire the repeal of these laws. It has also raised money and endeavored to give other assistance to those being prosecuted for giving out birth control propaganda.

There are two other organizations which have no other object for their existence except to secure the change or the repeal of these laws. The first of these is the National Birth Control League. It recently expressed its views in a resolution which reads thus:

> "The National Birth Control League believes there should be no legal restriction against giving information in regard to the prevention of conception.
>
> BE IT RESOLVED, that we protest against the arrest and prosecution of Emma Goldman for her effort to make birth control information easy of access to all and which it should be entirely legal for any one to do; and be it,
>
> FURTHER RESOLVED, that we urge the public to heartily support Miss Goldman against the unrighteous and unjust regulations which penalize the giving of information as to the prevention of conception."

This National Birth Control League, while it accepts the platform of absolute freedom of speech and press in the matter of giving information as to contraceptives, also approves laws penalizing the sale or gift, to persons

under the age of consent, of the actual instrumentalities for the prevention of conception. That much concession they are making, I presume out of their own convictions and also perhaps out of a recognition of an anxiety on the part of the public who really wish this information for all, but fear evil results if contraceptives themselves are given to children. The officers of the National Birth Control League are: Clara Gruening Stillman, No. 36 East 57th Street and Mary Ware Dennett, No. 350 West 55th Street; one is the Secretary and the other is the Treasurer.

The next organization devoted to this subject is the Committee on Birth Control which has its headquarters at No. 54 West 94th Street, New York City. Their platform is embodied in a statement which is being signed by many professional men and women and which reads as follows:

> "I am in favor of amending Section 1142 of the Penal Code of the State of New York to permit duly licensed physicians to prescribe for their patients methods of preventing conception."

Let us now proceed to ask, why do we have these laws? It seems to me very doubtful that there is any healthy minded and healthy bodied adult person that has not, at some time or other, desired birth control information. In spite of this universality the laws penalizing birth control intelligence, persist. It seems to me that perhaps this is due mainly to a trick of the emotions. A few people with sexual experiences or phantasies which are perhaps perfectly good and wholesome, are yet made ashamed of them, and so are impelled to conceal their own true and wholesome sexual natures, by adopting a puritan mask. Their shame is accurately measured by the vehemence of their protestations for puritanism and their anxiety for the passage and enforcement of puritanic legislation. These few intimidate the whole community in so far as its members have not yet acquired a consciously grown up attitude toward their own sex-problem. In form this statement to most of you will sound like unsupported dogmatic psychology. However, it will not be considered

so unsupported a dogma by modern specialists in sexual emotions.

Let us now proceed from this generalization to the more particular. I have not made a canvass but I venture to make a safe guess, that there never has been one member of the Legislature who can show a child for every sexual experience. Now, if that is true, probably somebody gave them some penalized information. Why then do they publicly uphold laws of which they privately enjoy the violation? A professional puritan once informed me that his organization always had the best success in getting puritanic legislation from those legislators who are the most corrupt. The psychological explanation is easy. A man with a guilty conscience seeks a cloak of "righteousness" and prefers the one that interferes the least with his graft or debauchery, and furnishes a maximum of emotional approval from the boisterous moralists for revenue. So he acquires a cheap reputation for righteousness that he does not deserve, and makes his deviations from conventional rectitude more secure against suspicion.

Let us now pass our attention over to the judges. I have not made a canvass but I assume that it is another safe guess, that not one judge can show a child for every sexual experience. If that is even approximately true may be some of our judges have been conniving at crime and enjoyed its benefits. Now why not look that fact squarely in the face and ask these gentlemen with their solemn countenance and menacing black gowns why they have the nerve to impose penalties upon others who are doing nothing worse than they themselves are guilty of? Here again we have the same interesting problem of psychology. If the judge has a grown up attitude toward his personal sex problems his own experience may give him a sympathetic understanding of the prisoner at the bar, and nothing more than a nominal penalty or suspended sentence will be imposed. If, however, the judge drags behind him, either secretly or subconsciously, a load of shame, then a defensive reaction will set in, and a severe penalty is apt to be the result. In the disproportion of the penalty to the injury for which it is inflicted, we can find a yard stick with which to measure

the intensity of the shame which the judge seeks to conceal by his "righteous wrath." (Illustrative examples were given but are here omitted.)

Now then, friends, if we could just get to the point where we have the courage to look the whole of our character squarely in the face and then have the courage to insist upon our simple, natural curiosity and desire to know the truth, I think that this law would be repealed by almost unanimous consent. I urge upon you individually, always to dare to speak what you feel and think about it and to express your sentiment by joining with some of these organizations which are devoting themselves to the modification or repeal of this law. If you will all vigorously and aggressively do that, some wholesome result will soon follow.

If politicians could seek a maximum of efficiency in spreading enlightenment instead of increasing jobs, the legislature would pass a law compelling the Board of Health, especially in cities like New York, not only to impart birth control information but to furnish free of charge to all who are married and poor the instrumentalities with which conception can be prevented. For this we need but have an intelligent regard for future generations, and the courage to apply a sensible and timely preventive of future social burdens. Sex is a matter of great importance to life, and I hope the time will soon come when sex subjects will be understood and discussed with the same freedom that we discuss any other question. When enough of us get a wholesome clean-minded grown-up attitude toward sex, puritanism will cease to be respected and our sex censorship will disappear.

EMMA GOLDMAN'S TRIAL ON APRIL 5th

My hearing came up March 29th before Judge Moss and was adjourned until April 5th, 10 A. M., to come before Judge Garvin. I will plead my own case. I hope all my New York friends will be in court; the trial will take place in the Criminal Court Building on Center Street, in Department 6, ground floor.

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF BIRTH CONTROL

By Emma Goldman

IT HAS been suggested that to create one genius nature uses all of her resources and takes a hundred years for her difficult task. If that be true, it takes nature even longer to create a great idea. After all, in creating a genius nature concentrates on one personality whereas an idea must eventually become the heritage of the race and must needs be more difficult to mould.

It is just one hundred and fifty years ago when a great man conceived a great idea, Robert Thomas Malthus, the father of Birth Control. That it should have taken so long a time for the human race to realize the greatness of that idea, is only one more proof of the sluggishness of the human mind. It is not possible to go into a detailed discussion of the merits of Malthus' contention, to wit, that the earth is not fertile or rich enough to supply the needs of an excessive race. Certainly if we will look across to the trenches and battlefields of Europe we will find that in a measure his premise was correct. But I feel confident that if Malthus would live to-day he would agree with all social students and revolutionists that if the masses of people continue to be poor and the rich grow ever richer, it is not because the earth is lacking in fertility and richness to supply the need even of an excessive race, but because the earth is monopolized in the hands of the few to the exclusion of the many.

Capitalism, which was in its baby's shoes during Malthus' time has since grown into a huge insatiable monster. It roars through its whistle and machine, "Send your children on to me, I will twist their bones; I will sap their blood, I will rob them of their bloom," for capitalism has an insatiable appetite.

And through its destructive machinery, militarism, capitalism proclaims, "Send your sons on to me, I will drill and discipline them until all humanity has been ground out of them; until they become automatons ready to shoot and kill at the behest of their masters." Capitalism cannot do without militarism and since the masses of people furnish the material to be destroyed in the trenches and on the battlefield, capitalism must have a large race.

In so called good times, capitalism swallows masses of people to throw them out again in times of "industrial depression." This superfluous human mass, which is swelling the ranks of the unemployed and which represents the greatest menace in modern times, is called by our bourgeois political economists the labor margin. They will have it that under no circumstances must the labor margin diminish, else the sacred institution known as capitalistic civilization will be undermined. And so the political economists, together with all sponsors of the capitalistic regime, are in favor of a large and excessive race and are therefore opposed to Birth Control.

Nevertheless Malthus' theory contains much more truth than fiction. In its modern aspect it rests no longer upon speculation, but on other factors which are related to and interwoven with the tremendous social changes going on everywhere.

First, there is the scientific aspect, the contention on the part of the most eminent men of science who tell us that an overworked and underfed vitality cannot reproduce healthy progeny. Beside the contention of scientists, we are confronted with the terrible fact which is now even recognized by benighted people, namely, that an indiscriminate and incessant breeding on the part of the overworked and underfed masses has resulted in an increase of defective, crippled and unfortunate children. So alarming is this fact, that it has awakened social reformers to the necessity of a mental clearing house where the cause and effect of the increase of crippled, deaf, dumb and blind children may be ascertained. Knowing as we do that reformers accept the truth when it has become apparent to the dullest in society, there need be no discussion any longer in regard to the results of indiscriminate breeding.

Secondly, there is the mental awakening of woman, that plays no small part in behalf of Birth Control. For ages she has carried her burdens. Has done her duty a thousand fold more than the soldier on the battlefield. After all, the soldier's business is to take life . For that he is paid by the State, eulogized by political charlatans and upheld by public hysteria. But woman's function is to give life, yet neither the state nor politicians nor pub-

lic opinion have ever made the slightest provision in return for the life woman has given.

For ages she has been on her knees before the altar of duty as imposed by God, by Capitalism, by the State, and by Morality. To-day she has awakened from her age-long sleep. She has shaken herself free from the nightmare of the past; she has turned her face towards the light and its proclaiming in a clarion voice that she will no longer be a party to the crime of bringing hapless children into the world only to be ground into dust by the wheel of capitalism and to be torn into shreds in trenches and battlefields. And who is to say her nay? After all it is woman who is risking her health and sacrificing her youth in the reproduction of the race. Surely she ought to be in a position to decide how many children she should bring into the world, whether they should be brought into the world by the man she loves and because she wants the child, or should be born in hatred and loathing.

Furthermore, it is conceded by earnest physicians that constant reproduction on the part of women has resulted in what the laity terms, "female troubles": a lucrative condition for unscrupulous medical men. But what possible reason has woman to exhaust her system in everlasting child bearing?

It is precisely for this reason that women should have the knowledge that would enable her to recuperate during a period of from three to five years between each pregnancy, which alone would give her physical and mental well-being and the opportunity to take better care of the children already in existence.

But it is not woman alone who is beginning to realize the importance of Birth Control. Men, too, especially working men, have learned to see in large families a millstone around their necks, deliberately imposed upon them by the reactionary forces in society because a large family paralyzes the brain and benumbs the muscles of the masses of working men. Nothing so binds the workers to the block as a brood of children and that is exactly what the opponents of Birth Control want. Wretched as the earnings of a man with a large family are, he cannot risk even that little, so he continues in the rut, compromises and cringes before his master, just to

earn barely enough to feed the many little mouths. He dare not join a revolutionary organization; he dare not go on strike; he dare not express an opinion. Masses of workers have awakened to the necessity of Birth Control as a means of freeing themselves from the terrible yoke and still more as a means of being able to do something for those already in existence by preventing more children from coming into the world.

Last, but not least, a change in the relation of the sexes, though not embracing very large numbers of people, is still making itself felt among a very considerable minority. In the past and to a large extent with the average man to-day. woman continues to be a mere object, a means to an end; largely a physical means and end. But there are men who want more than that from woman; who have come to realize that if every male were emancipated from the superstitions of the past nothing would yet be changed in the social structure so long as woman had not taken her place with him in the great social struggle. Slowly but surely these men have learned that if a woman wastes her substance in eternal pregnancies, confinements and diaper washing, she has little time left for anything else. Least of all has she time for the questions which absorb and stir the father of her children. Out of physical exhaustion and nervous stress she becomes the obstacle in the man's way and often his bitterest enemy. It is then for his own protection and also for his need of the companion and friend in the woman he loves that a great many men want her to be relieved from the terrible imposition of constant reproduction of life, that therefore they are in favor of Birth Control.

From whatever angle, then, the question of Birth Control may be considered, it is the most dominant issue of modern times and as such it cannot be driven back by persecution, imprisonment or a conspiracy of silence.

Those who oppose the Birth Control Movement claim to do so in behalf of motherhood. All the political charlatans prate about this wonderful motherhood, yet on closer examination we find that this motherhood has gone on for centuries past blindly and stupidly dedicating its offspring to Moloch. Besides, so long as mothers are compelled to work many hard hours in order to help

support the creatures which they unwillingly brought into the world, the talk of motherhood is nothing else but cant. Ten per cent. of married women in the city of New York have to help make a living. Most of them earn the very lucrative salary of $280 a year. How dare anyone speak of the beauties of Motherhood in the face of such a crime?

But even the better paid mothers, what of them? Not so long ago our old and hoary Board of Education declared that mother teachers may not continue to teach. Though these antiquated gentlemen were compelled by public opinion to reconsider their decision, it is absolutely certain that if the average teacher were to become a mother every year, she would soon lose her position. This is the lot of the married mother; what about the unmarried mother? Or is anyone in doubt that there are thousands of unmarried mothers? They crowd our shops and factories and industries everywhere, not by choice but by economic necessity. In their drab and monotonous existence the only color left is probably a sexual attraction which without methods of prevention invariably leads to abortions. Thousands of women are sacrificed as a result of abortions because they are undertaken by quack doctors, ignorant midwives in secrecy and in haste. Yet the poets and the politicians sing of motherhood. A greater crime was never perpetrated upon woman.

Our moralists know about it, yet they persist in behalf of an indiscriminate breeding of children. They tell us that to limit offspring is entirely a modern tendency because the modern woman is loose in her morals and wishes to shirk responsibility. In reply to this, it is necessary to point out that the tendency to limit offspring is as old as the race. We have as the authority for this contention an eminent German physician Dr. Theilhaber who has compiled historic data to prove that the tendency was prevalent among the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Persians and many tribes of American Indians. The fear of the child was so great that the women used the most hideous methods rather than to bring an unwanted child into the world. Dr. Theilhaber ennumerates fifty-seven methods. This data is of great importance in as much as it dispels the superstition that woman wants to become a mother of a large family.

No, it is not because woman is lacking in responsibility, but because she has too much of the latter that she demands to know how to prevent conception. Never in the history of the world has woman been so race conscious as she is to-day. Never before has she been able to see in the child, not only in her child, but every child, the unit of society, the channel through which man and woman must pass; the strongest factor in the building of a new world. It is for this reason that Birth Control rests upon such solid ground.

We are told that so long as the law on the statute books makes the discussion of preventives a crime, these preventives must not be discussed. In reply I wish to say that it is not the Birth Control Movement, but the law, which will have to go. After all, that is what laws are for, to be made and unmade. How dare they demand that life shall submit to them? Just because some ignorant bigot in his own limitation of mind and heart succeeded in passing a law at the time when men and women were in the thralls of religious and moral superstition, must we be bound by it for the rest of our lives? I readily understand why judges and jailers shall be bound by it. It means their livelihood; their function in society. But even judges sometimes progress. I call your attention to the decision given in behalf of the issue of Birth Control by Judge Gatens of Portland, Oregon. "It seems to me that the trouble with our people to-day is, that there is too much prudery. Ignorance and prudery have always been the millstones around the neck of progress. We all know that things are wrong in society; that we are suffering from many evils but we have not the nerve to get up and admit it, and when some person brings to our attention something we already know, we feign modesty and feel outraged." That certainly is the trouble with most of our law makers and with all those who are opposed to Birth Control.

I am to be tried at Special Sessions April 5th. I do not know what the outcome will be, and furthermore, I do not care. This dread of going to prison for one's ideas so prevalent among American radicals, is what makes the movement so pale and weak. I have no such dread. My revolutionary tradition is that those who are

not willing to go to prison for their ideas have never been considered of much value to their ideas. Besides, there are worse places than prison. But whether I have to pay for my Birth Control activities or come out free, one thing is certain, the Birth Control movement cannot be stopped nor will I be stopped from carrying on Birth Control agitation. If I refrain from discussing methods, it is not because I am afraid of a second arrest, but because for the first time in the history of America, the issue of Birth Control through oral information is clear-cut and as I want it fought out on its merits, I do not wish to give the authorities an opportunity to obscure it by something else. However, I do want to point out the utter stupidity of the law. I have at hand the testimony given by the detectives, which, according to their statement, is an exact transcription of what I spelled for them from the platfor.m Yet so ignorant are these men that they have not a single contracept spelled correctly now. It is perfectly within the law for the detectives to give testimony, but it is not within the law for me to read the testimony which resulted in my indictment. Can you blame me if I am an anarchist and have no use for laws? Also, I wish to point out the utter stupidity of the American court. Supposedly justice is to be meted out there. Supposedly there are to be no star chamber proceedings under democracy, yet the other day when the detectives gave their testimony, it had to be done in a whisper, close to the judge as at the confessional in a Catholic Church and under no circumstances were the ladies present permitted to hear anything that was going on. The farce of it all! And yet we are expected to respect it, to obey it, to submit to it.

I do not know how many of you are willing to do it, but I am not. I stand as one of the sponsors of a world-wide movement, a movement which aims to set woman free from the terrible yoke and bondage of enforced pregnancy; a movement which demands the right for every child to be well born; a movement which shall help free labor from its eternal dependence; a movement which shall usher into the world a new kind of motherhood. I consider this movement important and vital enough to defy all the laws upon the statute-books. I believe it will clear the way not merely for the free discussion of con-

tracepts but for the freedom of expression in Life, Art and Labor, for the right of medical science to experiment with contracepts as it has in the treatment of tuberculosis or any other disease.

I may be arrested, I may be tried and thrown into jail, but I never will be silent; I never will acquiesce or submit to authority, nor will I make peace with a system which degrades woman to a mere incubator and which fattens on her innocent victims. I now and here declare war upon this system and shall not rest until the path has been cleared for a free motherhood and a healthy, joyous and happy childhood.

BIRTH CONTROL

BY A MOTHER OF SEVEN CHILDREN

HAVING read in a recent paper that the people agitating the question of Birth Control consisted principally of people who did not have children, I write your magazine to voice my opinion in the matter and to state first of all I am the mother of seven children. Progression should be the delight of every up-to-date mind and while it is going on from many angles there are some where it seems to have run up against a snag and one of them is the subject of Birth Control. Why this, together with sex questions, should be such tabooed subjects and spoken of in whispers is a mystery. People openly speak of their stomachs, brains, legs, heart and all the different organs of the body with perfect freedom, even in schools, but touch on the question of sex and the mysterious assumes form. Relegate them to their time, that is stage coaches and sailing vessels, and brush away the cobwebs, and stare facts in the face. Like all other subjects that at first terrified, once established and we will wonder why we did not sooner learn things of such great benefit. All honor to Judge Gatens of Portland, Oregon, when he stated that "ignorance and prudery are the millstones about the neck of progress," etc.

As I understand the subject of Birth Control, it is

not for the purpose of eliminating families or offspring, but to enable a woman to be informed, without charge, concerning the control of her own body, which seems reasonable, does it not? It is principally for the purpose of enabling the poor to avoid large families, which are rarely wanted, especially by the mother, not because they cannot love them, but because with the present state of society there is no room for them, as the price is too high for the luxury. Primarily, the wages paid the average working man, which in most cases afford simply an existence, then the uncertainty of holding a job, which compels a man to work under high tension, together with the living expenses, rent, food, clothing, necessities of life, make it impossible for the average family to properly care for eight children or even six; in fact it seems a sacrifice to have two. Many will not agree with me, those principally who have paid help to assist the wife at every turn or many of them. The mother working under these circumstances will agree with me promptly. Life is something more than a treadmill to wear out one's life on. Either the father or mother do not want to become mere machines, but no matter how poor and ignorant, want their children to get an education. In fact often times the people who have been deprived of education are the very ones to make the biggest effort to secure advantages for their children, for they know the need of it. You say selfishness. It may appear to you to be so. Still I cannot see why mothers and fathers should be expected by anyone to devote their entire lives and money to rearing a large family. You say parents take pleasure in it. So they do, but don't you know pleasures get to the point where they do not offset the worry and trouble behind them? Lastly, the information ought to be given as a preventive of ill-health, which thousands of women (and some doctors) bring on by not knowing beforehand.

The average family doctor will not tell a woman what to do to prevent conception. When I asked mine he said, laughing, "Well, if I knew where there was an island, where there were no men, that would be a safe way for you." Now wasn't that a sensible reply! Of

course it was simply to evade giving the knowledge I desired. I was a prospective patient, why should he? He also told me a physician's harvest was women with female trouble. While I do not think they are confined to women who have given birth to children alone, still I am not afraid to leave it to any physician to decide that it is in the majority of cases. Of course we have our own ideas on the subject, but does it not seem strange to you that people with money have so few children, when it is they who can afford to own them and take care of them? Money can buy even knowledge, but is it fair to those who cannot afford, as I was situated, to pay for this knowledge?

Some girls have heard older sisters and married women talk about preventives until they are confident they can avoid trouble. Perhaps some of those preventives are good but in the majority of cases they are not. Honestly and frankly, do you not think if your daughter decided to give up her virtue you would prefer her to know how to keep out of further trouble, than to think she would stumble blindly on and end in the hands of a bungling abortionist? Probably losing her life, if not that her health? Then again it often results in the daughter taking a trip to the mountains for her health or to the hospital to be operated for a fibroid tumor, which turns out to be an eight pound boy which would be delivered to an orphanage, perhaps like the ones recently uncovered in New York City. Do you not think every child having to pass such an existence—for it isn't life that those children lead— would be much better off unborn? Can you imagine children reared in an institution that has robbed them of their childhood play, half-starved their stomachs, half-clothed their little, tender bodies, robbed them of their very thoughts, their liberty, and turned them into automatons answering to bells and gongs, ever amounting to much in this world?

You say I dearly love my six remaining children, and had they numbered fifty, I would have loved them all. But have I done right by them? It is very true had I had the knowledge that I now wish to give to other women I would probably not have had one of them. Would I be

better off? And would they be better off had they never come here? We cannot answer those questions. I can openly appeal to those who are anticipating the bringing of children into the world, to urge the repeal of a law that holds back Birth Control information from them, and once in possession of the knowledge that is desired to be given from disinterested parties, go slow, have as many children as you can properly educate and care for, have them when each parent has been properly tested as to their fitness to care for children, and have them under conditions that will produce the best children.

Another viewpoint which should allow mothers to decide about having families is that of war. As we all know in this intellectual age there should be no such thing as war, and if mothers knew how much it lay in their power to control this matter, if would cease, there would be a way found to prevent it. I claim every mother should refuse to bring children into the world to be used as targets for the cannon. I have three boys and not with my consent will one of them offer his services to fight other people's battles. The time for him to fight is to protect himself and his own and no other. There are so many useful things for him to engage in which will bring pleasure to himself and to those to whom he is dear. This no doubt is one of the reasons the fighters of Birth Control are so active; they realize without our babies they couldn't go far with war.

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TELEGRAMS TO CARNEGIE HALL MEETING

San Francisco, Cal., Feb. 29, 1916

Emma Goldman,
Carnegie Hall, New York.

Fight them to finish. New York authorities must be forced to realize like Federal Government that voice for Birth Control is too strong to strangle. Free Speech must be fought for, and Government must be warned, suppression breeds terrorism. Thousands of friends throughout country with you.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN.

San Francisco, Cal., Feb, 29, 1916.

Emma Goldman,
Carnegie Hall, New York.

I protest in the name of humanity and social welfare against any interference with the judicious spreading of knowledge calculated to effect Birth Control.

JULIUS ROSENSTIRN, M.D.

THE CROWBAR VS. WORDS

BY REB RANEY

WHEN a person gets ready to Act, the first thing that person does is to Forget THEORIES. Skeins of supposition and contention have no place in a determined mind. Paper teachings, mostly, are only piffle, anyhow. One reason the old world flops now and then is because it has become Unbalanced with the weight of meaningless treatises. This reference does not include written Information. There is a vast difference between written matter which eggs on Action and written matter which persuades the mind that some little fool man or woman has solved the problem of cerebral vision and digestion.

Since MOTHER EARTH believes in Free Speech, I am going to take advantage of that fact and state a differing opinion as to the possible benefit of a Special Birth Control issue of the magazine: the people who read MOTHER EARTH believe in Birth Control, most of them know about it, and the majority Practice it, which is more important. It's just like whispering into the ear of the Family for a Radical to put forth Radical sentiments in a Radical publication. The Noise is needed to give tone to other quarters. If information on the subject is to be given out, that is another matter.

As to the predicament of our brave little Emma, no one could possibly feel worse if she were meted out a jail sentence than the undersigned. I am her friend, before mush, after soup and while the nuts are being cracked. But her offense *merits* a jail sentence, according to the code. Most actions that are worth a thrush's whiff, *do*. If she hadn't really committed a Worthy Offense, our hand-clapping would be so many gaseous echoes. To fight for the Justification of her act is fine. I am right there. Only my idea of fighting is this: DO the thing that she did only do it Moreso. And repeat the offense so often that the Keepers will forget to lock the door on Emma Goldman or any other man or woman who will voice submerged thought fearlessly. For Birth Control, like any other imperative requirement, is really submerged thought which only needs the touch of courageous defiance to ignite it effectively.

At the Emma Goldman Protest Mass Meeting, held in San Francisco, March 10th, where between three and four hundred people assembled to show their interest in and approval of Birth Control agitation, Information in quantity was actually given out *without charge*, and to my mind, such means are the only *telling* means in propaganda of this nature. When asked to contribute "for the purpose of disseminating written information on this subject," the audience in a stampede of enthusiasm, threw its dollars, half-dollars, quarters, dimes and nickels on the platform. The place rang like a cashier's counting slab. And when it came time to give *out* the information, the audience lapped up the hand-bills on Preventives like Boston terriers let loose on a bowl of fresh milk. One husband and wife who carried evidence of lack of information in the form of a little girl on the husband's back, grabbed the Service Sheets with such avidity that they like to have destroyed a considerable packet in their mad rush to capture the whole supply.

Actions of this stamp, compassing distribution, are what will make it possible for us to think what we please, say what we please, and do as we please; and until we can frankly, freely, openly express ourselves and live our lives, civilization, so-called, is not worth a tinker's damn. It is up to those who Know to see that Others know. And this can only be done by running the gauntlet of half-baked decrees, dust-covered prerogatives and over-clothed Decreers.

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A HUMAN DOCUMENT

EMMA GOLDMAN,

Dear Madam:

If this should fall into the hands of a secretary would you kindly pass it on to the person to whom it is intended that she may know personally how strongly I appeal to her for aid, for I feel sure that she will help me out of my difficulty if she possibly can. In order to make my case clearer to you, I shall have to give you a very brief sketch of my life, I will not take any more of your time than necessary. I was born in 1882, so am now in my 34th year, what is generally termed an "old maid." I hear it often.

For the past eight years I have been the constant and happy companion of a young man of my own age. You will wonder what that has to do with it, but I will explain. When married, my mother was a small, delicate person and my father a big strong healthy man. Their first child was well and strong, but after his death (he died when five years old with diphtheria) it left my mother broken in spirit and health, and father took to drink for consolation. Things went from bad to worse, and when they had lost every thing, mother, to help make ends meet, did dress-making. She sewed day and night, consequently when I was born, I had to be the one to suffer. When only a year and a half old I lost the sight of one eye from a cataract improperly treated. When five years old I had hip-disease, that has left me with one limb shorter than the other, and a stiff hip and joint muscles that can never be used again. So when quite a child I was taught to smother all feelings of love and thoughts of marriage as I would the plague. I tried hard to follow that advice and I have carried my cross faithfully and bravely and never encouraged the love of any man and have had to refuse gently but firmly what other girls received with open arms. I cannot say I regret my affliction nor my life as I have lived it. But now when I have reached the age where love means so much to a woman, how can I reject it when I know what the result will be and so I have come to you with my "hurt" just as a little child runs to its mother for comfort and sympathy. Realizing my condition, I felt it my duty to explain as best I could, that marriage with me seemed out of the question since there would always have to be just the two of us, and the lover of whom I speak is quite willing it should be so, and is willing to make any sacrifice in my behalf. But how can I ever tell him that while I love him so deeply, I cannot marry him for fear there should be children by that marriage? I believe it, and I say it with reverence too, that God truly meant us for each other and that in heaven above our souls have been joined together by a love greater than our own. We have been so happily together all this time with hardly a misunderstanding, for

love seemed to take care of all difficulties and understands so perfectly and divinely how to forgive and forget. I appeal to you in the name of human love, so can you, will you, impart to me the information that I promise you to hold as sacred and to be used only to bring two loving souls closer together in a dearer, happier relationship? Physicians, of course, will not advise me, so to whom may I go if not to you? They have advised me not to marry, for they say it would probably mean death to one or both of us and if by chance the child should live, suppose it should not only be a cripple but blind as well. I would rather live a life of solitude and loneliness all my life than to think so horrible a fate might befall an innocent, helpless creature. I am neither strong enough, physially, to be a mother nor could I be one if I was, for with a stiff hip joint how could I undergo the sufferings of child-birth, and what a useless sacrifice to make a few months happiness and then—what? You will never know what new hope came to me when I first read of Margaret Sanger, and after I attended the mass-meeting at Carnegie Hall, I determined to write to you, hoping to receive encouragement and new light and hope. My father is getting old and grey and only earns $14 per week but has not touched drink for twelve years or more, but I feel if I could marry and be in a home of my own, I would have some one to care for me when the folks are gone, and the necessary money to build up my strength with and to be one less for my father to support. I do not wish to play upon your sympathy for these are plain facts, which I will stand by and swear to be true conditions. My only purpose in wanting to know how to prevent conception, is to further my own happiness and that of the man I love. May some unknown power protect you from this coming trial and keep you in your hour of need from behind prison bars. God grant you may continue your good work and help make this old world better by your clearer vision and deeper insight into the things that concern women most. Will that book by Dr. Robinson, "Limitation of Offspring," give me the knowledge I crave? I do not wish you to incriminate yourself in

any way even to help me, so if you do not care to write, would you wish me to call personally to see you, or are you too busy to receive me? When you see what a small, delicate-looking, harmless little creature I am for my age, I know you will not begrudge me one ounce of motherly advice. I ask your pardon for detaining you so long, but just see how happy you can make us two if you will. God bless you and the work you are doing and send you help to fight to a finish. Trusting this will reach you in safety, I am

Sincerely yours

G.

THE CARNEGIE HALL MEETING

BY HAROLD TITUS

ON THE night of February 29th, exponents of military preparedness for the United States held forth in Carnegie Hall, New York City. The meeting was free to all; the newspapers, the bill boards, many other mediums of communication, had been used lavishly in a desperate effort to arouse enthusiasm and to attract attendance. According to those newspapers with the strongest militarist tendencies, the huge auditorium was "well filled."

On the night of March 1st those men and women of Greater New York who believe that the time has come when the conspiracy of silence which prevents wretched humans from learning how to prevent the birth of unwelcome children must be broken, talked on birth control from the same platform. Admission of from ten to fifty cents was charged and the publicity that the gathering had received was meager indeed. Yet Carnegie Hall was filled from the topmost row of chairs to the back drop of the stage setting with men and women standing behind the filled rows of seats—and standing there from shortly after eight o'clock until nearly midnight.

A pleasing contrast, that! In spite of the fact that a blind, ignorant, vulgar system was at the moment holding Emma Goldman, the principal speaker, to answer in a court of law for illegally giving informa-

tion which will help the limitation of families; regardless of the fact that Margaret Sanger, who was prevented from speaking by illness, has been persecuted for two years by the badgering officials of a government which forces wed-lock and compels the bearing of children; notwithstanding the presence of police stenographers who reported every syllable of the speeches in the hope that some word, some phrase might give their superiors opportunity to again step out into the path of progress—despite all these dark sidelights, that gathering, that spirit, that healthy interest in the happiness of future generations was soul-warming!

No class predominated in those hundreds. All were represented. Young men and women were there; perhaps some of them attended on the chance that they might receive an erotic shock, for such has been charged by those who stand and jeer. Even if they did their time was splendidly spent, for there they saw an army of intelligent, eager, sincere people and heard them plead for more of the most beautiful elements in life: happy parenthood and healthy childhood. This, surely, would have sent such youth away with a deeper insight into living, a better conception of what ugly twists repression gives to natural urges. The married of all ages attended in force; young couples who came to learn and those from the other end of the scale who—have learned, and who came to give their support to a movement which would have made their lives brighter, happier had it been thoroughly launched a generation ago. Beyond a doubt some of the sceptical were there and surely hundreds were present who knew that in their own experience has been a knowledge which, if disseminated, would tend to make the process of living and reproducing lighter, less complicated for those who, in ignorance, breed ceaselessly and suffer. Perhaps women predominated for, after all, it is a woman's movement, this propaganda of birth control. It strikes home to her.

Carnegie Hall is a huge place; some of those who talked are not accustomed to speaking in public and their voices did not carry. Hundreds heard scarcely a word from one or two of the speakers, yet none left

the building and in that fact is a great significance. Men and women stayed because they are *interested* and where such a universal interest has been aroused, nothing but success can result.

Dr. Wm. J. Robinson and Dr. A. L. Goldwater represented the medical profession on the platform. Hard, cold, appalling facts were driven home by these two professional men. They cited case after case in which the stupid system which prevents any person telling another human being how to prevent conception has committed a brutal, unpardonable crime—in the name of law and righteousness. A bit shocking to some who heard, no doubt, because abortion, intercourse, and other terms which are, in some circles, to be thought and not spoken, formed the background for the tragic pictures these men dispassionately painted. John Reed talked, and Anna Strunsky Walling; Leonard D. Abbott, who presided, and Theodore Schroeder and Bolton Hall, were other speakers.

Miss Goldman, however, pioneer advocate of birth control in this county, then under arrest because of her activity, was the speaker for whom the crowd had waited with the greatest eagerness.

"By your laws you drive the women who do not wish to bear children into the hands of quacks and midwives who slaughter them through ignorance, for God and for the laws of the state!" was her opening denunciation. "Do you bigots behind the law imagine that by arresting Emma Goldman you are going to sweep back the tide of Birth Control? That, my friends, is beyond the power of any law. It is the dominant demand of society at the present time, yet you imagine that by sending to arrest a woman two detectives who cannot even spell contraception you are going to stop the movement." And on that the big crowd burst into a tumult of applause.

Miss Goldman had in her hands a stenographic report of her arraignment the day before. She told her audience that she would not risk reading it there because of the presence of police reporters.

"I am forbidden to do this," she explained, "because the law says that if I do I am a criminal. A physician is forbidden to whisper it to his patients.

But a detective can tell a judge all about contraception, he can explain the technique in detail to a stenographer; and yet I must not read to you what he tells that stenographer.

"I shall probably be sent to prison," Miss Goldman said, "but I shall come out again after a year and I shall continue to impart the knowledge of how men and women can prevent conception. I shall continue despite courts and police until men and women rise and refuse to allow ignorant law-makers any longer to fix for them the question whether or not they shall bear children."

And to judge from the greeting which was accorded this avowal it is evident that public opinion, the force without which law is a vapid mockery, has reached the limit of its arc and has commenced to swing the other way, toward liberty, toward enlightenment.

It was a big, grand, inspiring meeting, the first by the way, of its kind, to be held in this country on such a large scale. Only a fore-runner, too. With such a beginning the end for which these men and women are fighting cannot be so far distant nor so very difficult to reach.

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ONE MORE PLEA FOR DAVID CAPLAN

DAVID CAPLAN'S case which was to have come up for trial on March 14th, has been postponed until April third. It is to be hoped that there will be no further delay as our comrade has already been robbed of 14 months of his life.

Of course the courts in America are not concerned in the horror and agony that a man awaiting trial must endure during the weeks and months spent in jail. This is but a preliminary punishment inflicted upon a man who is considered innocent until he is proven guilty. We who have experienced such tortures or we who, from the human point of view, understand what the period of waiting represents can only hope intensely that David Caplan's trial will actually begin on April 3rd.

To hope for justice and fair play from any court is to insults one's own intelligence, to look for it in Los Angeles is to be guilty of downright idiocy. Not even for the sake of David Caplan, himself, would I deceive our readers in that respect. Too much deception has already been perpetrated upon the workers in connection with the Los Angeles labor trials.

No, there is no hope from a court presided over by the M. and M. and Harrison Grey Otis. If David Caplan is to be rescued from their blood-stained clutches, not the courts but labor and the determined stand of our comrade himself will do it, nothing else.

With the exception of the Jewish Workers of the East very little has been done by labor in behalf of David Caplan. In New York City it is the Caplan-Schmidt Defense League, consisting of delegates from 75 labor organizations, which has been most active and indefatigable. This group has held numerous meetings of which the largest will take place on Sunday, April 3rd at 2 P. M. at the New Star Casino. It has canvassed unions, collected money and has also engaged our Pittsburgh Comrade, Jake Margolis, an able lawyer and militant fighter to represent David Caplan at his trial.

Jake Margolis will bring new blood into the situation, of which the defense as so far carried on has shown a sad need. He goes to Los Angeles not for the remuneration but as one interested in David Caplan and the social aspect he represents. At least there is one assurance, our

enemies will not have quite as free and easy a field as in the past.

The Jewish press, too, has been generous in support of David Caplan. The Jewish Daily Forward especially deserves credit because it is usually very chary when dealing with Anarchists.

So I am once more appealing to our American readers for David Caplan. He needs your help. Will you not give it to him? Write him a cheering word to County Jail, Los Angeles. Send some money either in your letter to him or to MOTHER EARTH.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

AMERICA AND MEXICO

BY W. C. OWEN

AT THIS moment I am a fugitive from justice—a fact mentioned only to explain this article. The remainder of "Regeneration's" staff is in jail in Los Angeles, charged with having used the mails to circulate a newspaper that incited to murder and revolution. That the prosecution will not err on the side of mercy appears certain from the fact that the Magon Brothers' bail has been fixed, in each case, at $7,500.

For years I have been pointing out how suicidal is the policy of enlarging, instead of diminishing, the powers of government. All organizations resent attack and do their utmost to annihilate the attacker, precisely as does the individual. Consider only how many millions have suffered imprisonment and death for having ventured to attack the Roman Catholic Church.

In particular I have been in the habit of pointing out that government, the moment it finds the attack really dangerous, will resort to its first and most formidable weapon—its monopoly of the postal system. Through that monopoly, endorsed so foolishly by Socialists, it is able to arrest the pen of every critic, fining, imprisoning or exiling him as the case may be. What it is able to do it will do whenever its own danger seems sufficiently alarming.

The danger to the United States Government from what is going on in Mexico is very real, and the more one knows of the conditions there the more one appre-

ciates the danger. Rightly or wrongly, our government, like all governments, exists primarily for the defense of vested interests and the maintenance of things as they are. Moral considerations are never permitted to swerve it from its program. For example, you may prove absolutely that Porfirio Diaz and his cientificos rendered millions of Mexicans homeless outcasts by confiscating their lands and selling them to speculators. That, however, will have no effect on our government which will recognize that only titles have been acquired and its business is to protect them, no matter what the cost.

It is useless to declaim against this state of things, for obviously the government which fails to live up to its program thereby confesses its impotence and invites a series of new attacks which must end, sooner or later in its downfall. Every government, therefore, does its utmost to increase its strength, that it may crush its enemies and render its own life secure.

Of late the Mexican disinherited have been forcing speculators, foreign and domestic, to disgorge, and that to an extent quite unprecedent within living memory. That they have been successful is evident when we consider that claims filed against Mexico by the foreign speculators alone are estimated $700,000,000. Every one of those speculators is calling on our government to protect his title, and what is our government to do? If it pleads inability it signs its own death warrant.

At present our Government is supporting Carranza. Why? Simply because, in exchange for that support, he has promised publicly that he will do his utmost to restore order, protect the speculators, titles and reimburse them for all losses suffered during the last five years of revolution.

Naturally we of "Regeneration" oppose Carranza, because the realization of his promises would mean the restoration of the conditions that prevailed under Diaz—conditions so unbearable that they drove the entire nation into violent revolution. On the other hand, the United States Government is now Carranza's backer and ally. It has made his enemies its own, and is as anxious to suppress them as it is Carranza himself.

Carranza has been making desperate efforts to borrow

money from Wall Street. Has he not to assure the prospective lenders that their interests will be protected, that losses will be repaid, that the "security"—how suggestive is the word—is good? Of course he has to. Equally of course the lenders reply: The way to convince us that your security is good is to show us that you are able to put down your enemies. Naturally, Carranza therefore runs to Washington crying: "You are my ally. You are as much interested as I am in puting down my enemies." And of course the United States Government has to answer: "Yes, we shall live up to our obligations, however much we may dislike the job."

You understand; an impossible situation has developed. In my opinion there is no question of moral turpitude on either side. It is, for example, my profound conviction that the Mexicans must get rid of their speculators; and of course I do what I can to voice that conviction. On the other hand, I have every reason for believing that many of our leading officials, share that conviction with me, but their hands are tied. As I see it, I, for the moment at least, am free and they are not.

I hope they will not catch me, for I desire most ardently to continue the propaganda of explanation I have been pursuing for nearly forty years. I was trying to explain to the people of England the importance of the land question about the very time when Henry George was writing "Progress and Poverty." I have stuck closely to that program of explanation ever since, but nearly a year ago, in a moment of weakness, I decided that I was entitled to the comparative rest of a chicken ranch in Washington. From there I have been doing only a little writing; just enough to meet my obligations to the editors of the "Regeneration" who took over my "Land and Liberty" subscription list when I found myself no longer able to continue this publication.

The Magons had not grown tired, and thereby they showed themselves my brothers. I hope now to shake off my weariness—since the government will no longer permit me to squander my energies on merely private business—and resume that campaign of explanation which to-day seems to me more imperative than ever.

THE ARREST OF THE MAGON BROTHERS

DEAR COMRADES:

On February 18th the brothers Ricardo and Enrique Magon, editors of "El Regeneracion," a weekly paper published in Los Angeles in the interests of the working class in Mexico, were arrested and jailed. In the course of the arrest Enrique was beaten so severely as to require treatment at the Emergency Hospital.

The Magons are charged with having used the mails to incite murder, arson and treason; the indictment being based upon certain passages in a recent issue of "El Regeneracion" in which the Mexican peons are warned against trusting in the good faith of the Carranza administration, and counselled to continue the struggle for "land and liberty."

We may have our differences of opinion as to the wisdom of our comrades' propaganda; but we must admit that they have been fearless upholders of the ideal of free land and free men in Mexico. Already they have suffered three penitentiary sentences for the cause they represent; and at each release they have undauntedly resumed their work of agitation—amid ill health, hardship and the risk of death.

Since their last release they have labored with a group of comrades on a little co-operative ranch near Los Angeles. Here with a rude hand-printing press and a barn for offices they have published "El Regeneracion," and it was here that they were arrested—to face another long term in jail while yet in broken health from many years of persecution and excessive work.

Surely, it is for us to defend our comrades and stand by them in their need; for they have offered proofs enough of their devotion to our common ideal. And there is another reason—

Recent events marked by the arrest of Margaret Sanger, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Emma Goldman, and now of the brothers Magon, and the indictment of William C. Owen, editor of the English section of "El Regeneracion" should put us keenly on our guard. There is no doubt that the financial powers of this country are eager for an era of commercial imperialism backed by the bayonets of "preparedness." To these

ambitions there is no serious opposition save that voiced by the labor and radical press. And it would seem that we are now at the beginning of a most determined attack upon our liberties of speech and press, the first trench in our defense—and one that must be well guarded.

A Workers' International Defense League

Recognizing the danger that confronts us, a Workers' International Defense League of Los Angeles has been organized in affiliation with similar Leagues in San Francisco, Chicago and New York, with headquarters at 621 American Bank Bldg. The first meeting was held Feb. 25 of the present year, when a form of organization was agreed upon and a full list of officers elected.

This is a permanent organization "in the service of all who require defense and aid in the struggle for economic justice." It is identified with no faction. On its Executive Committee are men and women of Organized Labor, Socialists and Single Taxers, Industrial Workers of the World and Anarchists—and rebels without a label. And these are of many nationalities—American, British, German, French, Italian, Russian, Jewish, and Mexican.

The League Will Defend the Magons

The League has set itself to raise the $10,000 bail required for the Magons; and has retained attorneys J. H. Ryckman and E. E. Kirk as counsel.

We Need Your Help

Funds are urgently needed to carry on the defense. In Solidarity and unrestricted liberty of speech and press lives the strength of Labor. It is for these we must labor and sacrifice without ceasing. Comrade, help us promptly and generously. We need you—and you need us.

Send contributions to P. D. Noel, Financial Secretary, 621 American Bank Bldg., Los Angeles, California.

Fraternally yours,

EDGCUMB PINCHON,

General Secretary, Workers' International Defense League of Los Angeles.

A LETTER FROM MARGARET SANGER

THERE seems to be general dissatisfaction among the readers of MOTHER EARTH over the result of my trial.

Many of them have written me that the law remains unchanged. That any man or woman may still be rushed into prison, whose case may not be "dismissed."

True—all too true.

The Socialists have been telling us this for years. They have been telling us that "direct action" does not accomplish anything until the laws are changed.

You have taken an interest in my trial. You have written letters to Judge Dayton, U. S. Dist. Attorney and other officials requesting the dismissal of my case —You have pleaded the Cause of Birth Control thru thousands of letters to these officials—you have been heard—the authorities dismissed the case, as you requested—and now you are disappointed and "mad" at ME because they did it.

I made no requests of the authorities: on the contrary I informed them, before the case was dismissed, that I should continue my work until working women in America should have the same freedom to get Birth Control knowledge as the women of wealth.

I have tried to tell you that going into jail or staying out of it was of slight importance to me. My work —my Cause, is the cry of anguish which comes to me from the women of the Cotton Belt—the cry of working women tortured with the dread of child bearing and begging for relief from it. I am free and have relieved nearly three hundred of these women in the past four weeks: to continue to do this work—via direct action—is my Cause.

William Sanger went to jail—the law remained the same—I did not go to jail—you say the law remains the same. Then the Socialists must be right. Will Emma Goldman's *trial* change the law, or will it serve as William Sanger's and my case has served—as precedents only? Opinions expressed by several prominent members of the legal profession have been to the effect that the "dismissal" of my case by the Government is of *far greater value* as a precedent than an acquittal by a jury.

Comrades -let's on with our work and stop quibbling.

M. H. S.

BOOKS ON SOCIALISM

THERE is little pleasure in reviewing books written by leading American socialists. They may be divided in two classes, the one represented by the would-be Socialist statesman and politician who writes essentially for the purpose of convincing the world and the voters in Hackensack that Socialism is not quite as bad as pictured. Such writers defend Socialism against the accusation that it is an enemy to the State, that it favors expropriation and revolution, that it is rather more communistic than in favor of State Socialism, that it abhors Militarism, Church and Bourgeois morality.

In other words, these writers are very eager to show that nobody needs to be afraid of Socialism, because, in reality, it is not Socialism anymore.

The second class of books on Socialism is written by hopelessly entangled theorists. Their usual method is to take a strainer and squeeze one "fundamental principle" after the other through it till Socialism loses its essence.

"Socialism in America"* by John Macy, does not belong to either of these classes, and that is very much to its credit.

The author gives a clear conception of the origin of Socialism when he says:

"Socialism has its origin in the revolt of the working classes against the exploiting classes."

Political Socialism, however, married to and henpecked by the ballot box, has obscured and forgotten this origin of Socialism. It discourages the workers from revolt, holding out to them the vain hope that legislature and government will be "captured" by the Socialist politicians, by which means things will be arranged nicely in a legal way. The only drawback is, that these things develop quite in the opposite direction. Instead of the Socialist politicians capturing the government, the government captures the Socialist politicians. Consider France and especially Germany, where Socialism achieved its highest success and triumph, only to collapse—when the war came—then it had to close a *Burgfrieden* with the exploiting classes.

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*Doubleday Page & Co., New York, $1.00.

In fact, Macy comes in parts of the book to the same conclusion, but seems to hope that Socialism will be rejuvenated and invigorated with new blood. His statement that "Socialism and Anarchism sprang from the same stock and have in their veins some common blood" will not merit him much thanks from the party leaders.

The chapters "Socialists and The War," "Some American History" and "Internationalism and Militarism," make particularly good reading.

* * *

THE reader of "Socialism and War,"* by Louis B. Boudin, who expects to find a clear answer to the question, why the strongest Socialist parties of Europe became the tail end of warring governmentalism and capitalism, will be disappointed. He has to wade through a lot of conjectures, arrived at by the help of materialistic interpretation of History. It will not be easy for him to follow the author through a labyrinth of talk about the difference between wars of conquest and wars for defence, only to be left in the dark as to what is meant, when he closes the book.

That kind of interpretation of History shows much resemblance to a crawfish. It interprets backward, being able, for instance, to explain why the pyramids were built just exactly as they have been. Regarding present-day history, however, we have to put up with exercises in dialectics.

A better interpretation of the official Socialist attitude towards the war than Boudin gives in his book can be found in an interview with Karl Liebknecht. He states that the Social-Democratic party and the trade unions of Germany possess property worth several millions of dollars. Big business is conservative. The several millions were in danger, therefore be cautious! Dismiss the Internationale, which had become a mere figure of speech anyway, and wave the national flag.

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*The New Review Pub. Assn. $1.00. To be had through MOTHER EARTH.

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